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Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman

THE Nation

January 15, 1955
20¢

Little Man, Watch Out!

Notes on the Bull Market

by Carey McWilliams

Malice in Blunderland *Paul Blanshard*

Charter Revision? No *Merle Kling*

Sedition in Louisville *Jennings Perry*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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The Salt of the Earth

¶ *Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.*

—Matthew. v. 13

A Parable for 1955 . . .
. . . A New Punishment for an Old 'Crime'

This Was the Crime:

FOR sixty-one years men have labored to bring forth the salt of the earth—its mineral riches. Which is more precious: the mineral wealth of the earth or the men who mine it, smelt it, mill it?

For sixty-one years these men have been organized in the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and they have fought many bitter battles to earn their daily bread; to earn the salt wherewith to salt it.

For sixty-one years those who own the minerals these men dig in the sweat of their brow have tried vainly to steal from the miners, the millworkers and the smelterers that precious "salt" which makes the difference between life and mere existence: their wages, their security, their hopes for an expanding standard of living.

The latest attempt to break this union takes the form of the Taft-Hartley indictment of Maurice Travis, national secretary-treasurer of the union. Like many an honest union leader before him—Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Moyer and Pettibone—Travis is being framed. The device this time—the allegation that he falsified the Taft-Hartley "non-Communist" affidavit required of all union leaders.

This Is the Punishment:

MAURICE TRAVIS is well known to the 100,000 men who are organized in the union he heads, and who have elected him in secret ballot for the last eight years. They speak of him as "salt of the earth."

Travis has signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit every year since 1949. Why did the Attorney-General wait five years to issue this indictment?

Why did Vice-President Richard Nixon resort to the most degrading kind of red-baiting in the Rocky Mountain states, where Mine-Mill membership is strong and was active in the recent elections in defeating many Republican candidates?

Why did the Attorney-General issue the indictment exactly six days before the elections?

Why did the National Labor Relations Board hold hearings on Travis' affidavit when the courts have repeatedly held that it had no authority to investigate the validity of such affidavits?

What stoolpigeons will be brought forth at the impending trial, and for what purpose? All these questions can be answered in a single sentence:

The purpose of the NLRB hearings, the indictment, the impending trial, the whole frameup—is to try to smash Mine-Mill once and for all; to accomplish what sixty-one years of trying could not accomplish.

Webster defines 'Salt of the Earth' as: 'The sprinkling of people who preserve and give tone to the rest.' Such are the 100,000 men of Mine-Mill; such is Maurice Travis, one of their elected leaders.

PROTEST TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL HERBERT J. BROWNELL, DEMANDING THAT HE DROP THE INDICTMENT OF MAURICE TRAVIS. CONTRIBUTE TO THE MINE-MILL & SMELTER WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE: TABOR BUILDING, SIXTEEN AND CURTIS, DENVER 2, COLORADO.

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Little Man, Watch Out!. . . *by Carey McWilliams*

THE Federal Reserve Board's decision to raise margin requirements on stock purchases from 50 to 60 per cent made page one from coast to coast and was the editorial theme-of-the-week. The public's interest in the announcement is a measure not so much of its importance as of the number of "oldsters" still about who remember what happened in October, 1929. Judging by the excitement, it takes very little to activate the ghostly fears that have haunted the investing public for the last twenty-five years. This boom, unlike that of 1929, seems to frighten nearly everyone.

Last week's extensive discussion, however, left some important questions unanswered. For example, what has induced buyers to enter the market in such numbers and with such enthusiasm in recent months? The market has been going up since September, 1953, but about half the rise has been recorded in the last two months. The upturn in the earlier period has been variously accounted for—reduction of inventories, a good dividend picture despite reduced sales and unused capacity, relaxation of international tensions, a general feeling that the 1953 "shake-out" was nearly over, and many other factors. Explanations of the post-November upsurge are less numerous and less plausible. True, "full recovery" has been promised for 1955, but the most optimistic forecasts suggested a recovery only to 1953 or perhaps slightly higher levels. One important forecaster found "encouragement" in the curious data that investment for new plant and equipment in 1954 had declined only 8 per cent and that projections for 1955 showed a decline of only 5 per cent. Despite variations in emphasis, analyses of the short-range economic outlook offered scant inducement for massive speculation.

For the last few months, however, the long-range picture has been painted with a radiance so daring that the prospects for the immediate future have apparently been forgotten. The long-range optimism has in turn largely rested on what T. Balogh, in our issue of October 23, characterized as "voodoo prosperity," or prosperity by incantation. The optimistic projections may or may not be sustained—they are not inherently incredible—but there is little in the short-range outlook to justify them. The American economy is not an arrow shot into the sky; its underpinnings are real and tangible. Sooner or later, therefore, the gap between stock prices and production indices must narrow, unless of course the pattern of 1929 is to be repeated.

In the wake of the elections discreet warning signals began to go up. *Business Week* reported on December 25 that the "Fed"—meaning the Federal Reserve Board—would not "keep pressing down on the accelerator as it has since the reversal of the hard-money policy in May, 1953." Merely by dropping an adjective, "active," from the phrase "active ease" used to describe its policy of keeping the banking system supplied with ample reserves of credit, the board had waved a flag. But what special significance, if any, is to be attached to the fact that the warning signals began to appear *after* the elections? Did the Administration fear that it might be held responsible for another 1929 stock-market débâcle?

WITTINGLY or unwittingly the Administration had set the stage for the broker's field day which lasted from early November to January 5. The President had inaugurated the holiday, so to speak, when he announced on October 25 that he could foresee the likelihood that within less than a decade the national output would increase from today's $336,000,000,000 to $500,000,000,000. The next day his rosy vision was officially confirmed by a special report of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report which might best be described as an exercise in statistical muscle-flexing. By projecting various trends the staff of the committee produced an estimate of gross annual output for 1965 of $535,000,000,000. At about the same time McGraw-Hill released a report estimating the gross national output for 1970 at $562,000,000,000. Then Henry Luce's *Fortune* came up, in a mood of jingle bells and Santa Claus, with predictions of an average annual cash income, after taxes, of $6,000 per family in 1980.

The President's October statement was prompted, no doubt, by the pending election. It was not deliberately aimed at the stock market. But words have wings, and the rhetoric of confidence is contagious, even competitive. Soon the monthly reviews and newsletters issued by the citadels of hard money and sound finance were repeating the "golden future" theme, adding an extra gloss here and there. Thus the National City Bank Monthly Letter for December devoted about half of its twelve closely printed pages to a review entitled Progress

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Unlimited. Conclusion: "If we progress at as high and consistent a rate in the next eighty years as in the past, our grandchildren or great-grandchildren will have average family incomes of about $25,000 of 1953 purchasing power—a level now attained by only the top 1 per cent of the nation's families." Cited with approval were the President's forecast and the McGraw-Hill and Joint Committee reports. But approval was withheld from an earlier report by the Conference on Economic Progress which had sinned grievously by declaring a national output of five to six hundred billion was necessary to maintain full employment in 1960. To quote: "The use of unemployment as a bad word carries over from the harsh days of the depression."

In the same high holiday spirit, the survey issued by the Guaranty Trust Company reviewed the report of the Joint Committee in its December issue under the heading Toward New Frontiers. The new frontier is Industrial Progress, which, like population growth, is without end or limitation. True, growth brings bothersome problems. For example, additional schools, roads, and "other necessary public services . . . increase the financial pressure." But we need not worry overtime about disagreeable items of this sort since "there is an increasing tendency to make some of these services self-supporting by requiring direct pay for their use, as in the case of toll roads, bridges, and tunnels."

THE repetition at the highest levels of government and finance of these optimistic long-range forecasts certainly did not interfere with the brokers' well-organized efforts to lure "little people" into the market in droves. "The talk in Wall Street," reports the New York *World-Telegram*, "doesn't go far before the 'little investor' comes into the conversation, and some have even gone as far as to dub this the 'era' of the small investor." Sylvia F. Porter estimated that 2,000,000 buyers had purchased stocks for the first time since the start of 1952. Most of these new buyers fall in the income bracket between $5,000 and $25,0000, and the New York Stock Exchange reports that the "less than $10,000 bracket" is as important as the "over $25,000." To some extent, no doubt, this invasion of the market by an army of little buyers has been stimulated by the "monthly plan" initiated about a year ago which enables the investor to come in on a basis as low as $40 every three months. Both brokerage houses and exchanges have increased the tempo of their sales activities by larger mailings, heavier advertising budgets including radio spot announcements, more door-to-door solicitation, and various programs to encourage small-scale speculation. The mutual funds have also played a major role in this process. Aided by lyrical visions, not of a chicken in every pot, but of pots of gold at the rainbow's end in 1960, 1970, and 1980, and using new sales techniques, the brokers have

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succeeded in shepherding the little lambs to the market.

The Federal Reserve Board's decision may check but is not likely to stop the bull market. Quickly tagged in the financial papers as merely "a slap on the wrist," it applies only to new purchases. If the board were to raise margin requirements to 100 per cent, this would not be absolute assurance that the current speculative boom would be halted. Not only can margin requirements be evaded, but stock-market credit is hard to isolate from other forms of credit. As the *Wall Street Journal* notes, "If you insist on flooding your yard, it is next to impossible to keep the tennis court dry." The board's action will have—indeed, has had—a deterrent effect, but it should be followed by the "friendly" and "informative" study of the market's rise in these last few months which Senator Fulbright, who will head the Senate Banking Committee during the next two years, has proposed. More than "a tap on the wrist" will be needed to discipline the powerful forces promoting this most recent broker's field day to a larger measure of social responsibility. The "optimism" that prevails in these quarters is hard, cynical, and professional.

The Shape of Things

Swan Song?

In his last appearance as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senator McCarthy was in fine fettle, wisecracking about his "swan song," exchanging caustic comments with obdurate "Fifth Amendment" witnesses, and praising General Electric and Westinghouse for their "very cooperative" attitude in "releasing" employees who had declined to cooperate with him. The atmosphere, however, did not suggest a retirement or swan song. Senator John L. McClellan, who succeeds McCarthy as chairman, appeared to go out of his way to demonstrate that the committee is no longer riven with conflict. "The session was marked by a harmony between the two men," reported the New York *Times*, "a situation that seemed to indicate there would be no lessening of anti-Communist investigations in the new Congress." Even the Peress case, it appears, is still very much alive.

On the same day that McCarthy made his final appearance as chairman, Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard staff reported from Washington that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has prepared an investigation of "the far-flung and growing legal network set up to defend Communists." The committee wants to know how much is being collected for the legal defense of Communists. It also wants to inquire into the professional standing of lawyers who have invoked the Fifth Amendment when called as witnesses. In view of the fact that several of the witnesses who appeared at Senator McCarthy's "swan-song" session complained that they had been unable to get counsel, the Steele story is of especial interest. If Congress investigates the few lawyers who have been willing to risk their professional reputations, even their right to practice, by accepting retainers from alleged Communists, will not the right to counsel, guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment, be robbed of meaning?

International Gag?

So quaintly ludicrous are the travel restrictions Washington has imposed upon Soviet citizens in the United States that reporters have tried to treat the whole thing as some sort of gag intended to point up the absurdity of Russia's own restrictions. Much as we would like to believe it, we question this theory. The State Department is not famous for a light touch; nor has its cold-war strategy been aimed at kidding the Russians out of their suspicious, ill-humored ways. So when it describes the new rules as "retaliatory" one can assume they are just that: a sample of tit-for-tat diplomacy of a normally heavy-handed kind. Apparently the lines were not even drawn in the interests of security, but merely to mark off areas roughly equivalent to restricted areas in the Soviet Union. The result is a map that might have been designed by an intoxicated June bug.

Secretary Dulles, in his note announcing the restrictions to Ambassador Zaroubin, hints that if Moscow should liberalize existing regulations "this government would in turn be disposed to reconsider in the same spirit its own security requirements." But several facts make this solemn maneuver inopportune. As Mr. Dulles himself points out, the Soviet government considerably loosened its travel controls in June, 1953. This coincided with the general relaxation which followed Stalin's death—and which continues. The result has been a great increase in visas granted to outsiders and in the freedom enjoyed by travelers in Russia, as witness the journey of Marshall MacDuffie, whose frank report is reviewed on page 54 this week.

Instead of suddenly making grim faces through the curtain, it would be more sensible for the State Department to encourage Russians to visit this country, the better to see that we are not getting ready to launch an atomic cataclysm upon the "peace-loving countries" of the Soviet world. This would be a subtler form of reprisal, and one not devoid of political humor.

The Dragon's Tail

Ugly witch hunts are currently under way in Louisville and Miami. (See page 52 for a story on the first; a full report on the Miami scandal, which has been virtually blacked out by the wire services, will appear in an early issue.) Throughout the South the Supreme Court's

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decision outlawing segregated public schools has temporarily exacerbated racial tensions, particularly over housing. Behind the Braden case in Louisville lurk forces of racial bigotry that formerly marched under the banner of the K. K. K. but today shrewdly parade as "anti-seditionists." The deception is crude but immensely effective. Louisville and Miami are of major interest for other reasons. As Jennings Perry points out, the sting is now in the dragon's tail. Abating at the national level, the virulence of the witch hunt is now greatest at the grass roots.

High on the list of issues to watch in 1955 is anti-subversive activity in the various states. This year forty-four state legislatures convene, in contrast to the fourteen which assembled in 1954. Already organized labor is deeply concerned over state "right-to-work" laws, with a major test coming up shortly in Maryland; but what labor is not yet prepared to recognize is the close connection between state right-to-work laws and state anti-subversive activities—a connection made clear by the article That Boston Labor Probe, in last week's issue.

Come Again, Mr. Caffery!

It was news when Secretary of State Dulles instructed his top representative in Moscow that he should try occasionally to engage the Russians in informal conversation. This sort of thing just isn't done nowadays, and well deserved were the headlines it got.

Still we think that Jefferson Caffery, retiring Ambassador to Egypt, was carrying the new Dulles line to extremes when he issued his advice to aspiring young diplomats: "Don't just sit in the capital, but get to know the country and the people. . . . In the old days it was enough to know the king and people at court, but that is not true any more." What then becomes of the doctrine of guilt by association? Surely Mr. Caffery must know more than one budding young diplomat who has been blighted by hobnobbing with the masses instead of with kings (in good standing).

We find more candid the words of Dr. Henry N. Wriston, who studied the problem for Mr. Dulles and later wrote in *Foreign Affairs* that the Foreign Service officer "requires courage to report a situation as a man sees it, and then to take the consequences." He recognized the existence of young diplomats who lack Don Quixote's chivalrous love of high peril. Such men, cherishing their careers above tilting with bureaucratic or Congressional windmills, will be inclined to avoid "the people"—so often turbulent and non-conservative—and the dangerous intelligentsia, and let the reporting job go hang. Only thus do they have at least a half-chance of fending off "consequences." Ask John Carter Vincent. Ask John P. Davies. Come again, Mr. Caffery!

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

A New Weekly Column

Coincident with the opening of the Eighty-fourth Congress The Nation *introduces a new weekly feature, Washington in Focus, by a veteran Washington correspondent whose job it will be to explore and interpret as well as report. Readers will want to follow Washington in Focus regularly for the fresh slant it will give on what is going on in the White House, on the Hill, in the State Department, and on the other news frontiers of this "newsiest" of the world's capitals. For more about the author see page 55.*

Washington

SOMEONE called the State of the Union message a mixture of platitudes and beatitudes. It certainly raised a clouded ensign before Congress. In one sense it resembled a miscellany more than a message. It contained everything from a rather incoherent tribute to virtue to a plea for clean rivers. Even when seeking the glory of compassion it struck a false note. After speaking of farmers who drudge along on less than $1,000 a year, President Eisenhower said he would submit measures "to assure the steady alleviation of their most pressing concerns." Men who wish to give hope to burdened hearts do not talk this jargon. Here was the President's own extended definition of a "progressive moderate." It proved that he was much more of a moderate than a progressive.

All week the White House had remained curiously aloof from the excitement which always marks the opening of a new Congress. The prophetic little hints given to reporters suggested that the President would do his best to weave old straw into a new pattern. But the sedate calm of the Administration was suddenly disturbed when it found itself entangled in the squalid scurrilities of the Ladejinsky affair.

It is one of the tragedies of Washington that so many officials have had the courage of Scott McLeod's convictions on security problems. By some

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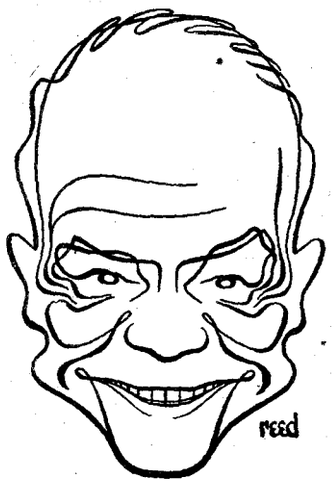


President Eisenhower

blundering mischance it was reserved for the Department of Agriculture to see goblins where even Mr. McLeod, that uncertain guardian of the Bill of Rights, saw no cause for alarm. The Administration solved its dilemma by the old trick of speaking with two voices. An embarrassed but unrepentant Mr. Benson was rescued, somewhat reluctantly, by the coerced generosity of Mr. Stassen. As if to complete the confusion, Dr. Ladejinsky, after being certified as a security risk by the Department of Agriculture, was chosen to help save Vietnam from slipping under Communist rule. This is more than government by paradox; it is government by bungle. It provided a sour prelude to the President's message.

There were other disturbing noises off stage. With almost effortless precision Republicans in Congress confirmed the leadership of their Old Guard. It is much easier for the President to praise unity before the country than it is for him to win unity in his own party. The Republican divisions fell like a sudden defacing shadow across the image of President Eisenhower as a leader above the battle.

But the worst blow came from an unexpected quarter. It was struck by Canada, this country's closest friend and greatest trading partner. The President gave pride of place in his message to the Randall report and the long-delayed opportunities of the reciprocal-trade program. Yet the very day on which he went to Congress, a delegation from the Canadian government arrived here almost breathless with anxiety to plead with the Administration to allow more imports from America's allies and save the Geneva trade agreements from extinction.

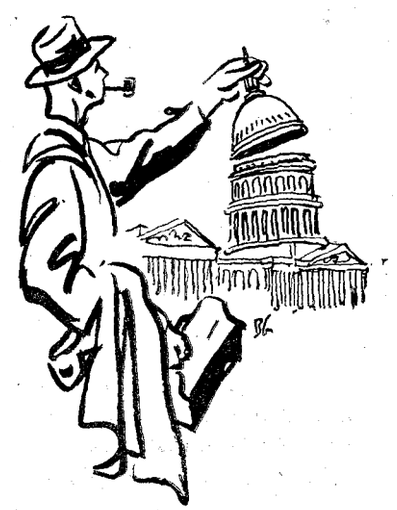
It really was rather naughty of the Canadians to make this ill-timed though desperately urgent trip to Washington. They rubbed the bloom from the President's message. For they suddenly gave us a glimpse of the painful problem long discussed in many embassies here. While the Administration has been praising the Randall report, a pallid and tentative document, America's friends have become uneasily aware of new problems quite beyond its limited horizons. Many diplomats are saying that it is not enough for the Democrats to save the reciprocal-trade program from being mutilated by the Republicans. The Democrats must also move beyond the Randall report and design a policy adequate to America's new interests in world trade. There is little sign that the Democratic Party is ready for this adventurous thinking, but at least its attitude is better than the supine satisfaction with which the President's entourage regards the passage in 1955 of a program which should have been indorsed two years ago.

HERE, in short, was no Teddy Roosevelt guarding the public domain against plunder, no Woodrow Wilson lifting men's hearts with a vision of the future, no F. D. R. making the common man feel his voice counted in national affairs, no Harry Truman bravely skirmishing on the frontiers of prejudice. But it would be wrong to judge President Eisenhower's message by these standards. He had a different task and different aims.

The great assumption on which this Administration is charting its policies is that the country is stirred by no impatient fervor of reform and wants no abundant harvest of new legislation. Republican leaders believe voters will be grateful for a period of repose. This makes them value efficiency in administration more than the challenge of reform. A tired nation is always a Tory nation, said Lloyd George, and this reluctance to accept the high adventure of leadership in government may well suit the present temper of Republicanism; but its acceptance would mean the fatal eclipse of the Democratic spirit.

As the President's statement of policy is discussed here, it is gradually being recognized that the Administration has chosen its fighting ground with great skill. The deliberate blurring of sharp edges, the bulging confusion of the message, the ethical overtones masking an intellectual timidity, the appeal to partnership, the easy welcome to Congress as a colleague in government—all these are carefully designed to thrust the Democrats into an awkward defensive position. Until now the Democrats in Congress have allowed President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles to speak as if the Republicans had started a new policy in trying to reduce the armed hatreds that curse and divide the world. To begin with, the Administration has done little more as yet than make an ambiguous tour of the obvious in proclaiming its belief in a policy of coexistence. We still must discover what this policy means in national decision and mutual concession. Yet it remains almost unbelievable that the Democrats have allowed the Eisenhower Administration to parade this policy as a Republican monopoly. If it succeeds at all, the policy will succeed only because the Administration, in changing world conditions, is the fortunate beneficiary of programs conceived and executed long years ago by the Democrats.

The State of the Union message proved yet again that President Eisenhower has far more significance as a personal political force than either his philosophy or his achievements would justify. He thinks the Democrats will hesitate to attack him and, thus hesitating, will paralyze themselves for 1956. As he stood before Congress he wrapped himself in a mantle of good intentions as a shield against criticism.



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CHARTER REVISION

No Debate Now . . . *by Merle Kling*

[*This year the United Nations must decide whether to hold a "review conference" to discuss revision of the organization's Charter. In last week's* Nation *John Henry Merryman, assistant professor of law at Stanford University, argued in favor of a conference. Herewith Merle Kling, associate professor of political science at Washington University, argues the negative.*

The letters column of this journal is open to the many readers who, we are certain, will want to participate in this discussion of one of the great issues of 1955.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

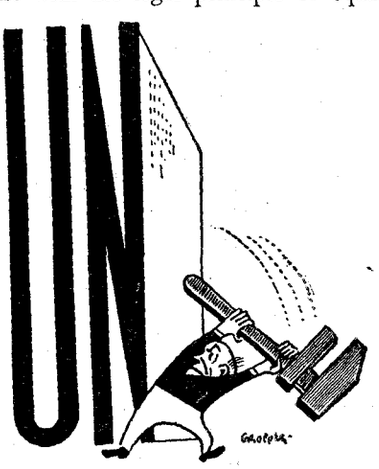
THE Charter of the United Nations (Article 109) provides that the proposal to call a general conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter shall be placed on the agenda of the tenth annual session of the General Assembly. The conference is to be held if the proposal receives a majority vote in the General Assembly and the vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Thus the veto cannot be exercised on the issue of convening a revisionary conference.

Secretary John Foster Dulles has announced that the Department of State "will favor the calling of the review conference when the question is put to the 1955 session of the United Nations General Assembly," and the Senate has created a special subcommittee to make a study of proposals to amend, revise, or modify the Charter. Encouraged by this official impetus, private organizations, such as church commissions on international peace, women's organizations, and other civic groups, have begun to sponsor institutes and conferences to promote public discussion of the merits and demerits of schemes of Charter revision.

The opportunity to occupy ourselves with the detailed problems of Charter review is a tempting one to those of us who were brought up in the American political tradition. For a significant part of the American heritage, handed down with enthusiasm by school teachers, is the role of documentary revision in American history. A nation on the verge of political disintegration and economic collapse, generations of school children have learned, decisively changed the course of its development by abandoning an unsatisfactory document, the Articles of Confederation, and substituting, in Gladstone's phrase, "the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man"—the Constitution of the United States. Exploiting this element of the American tradition, supporters of world-government movements have been eager to draw an analogy between the improvement effected by the American Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the potentialities of the U. N. for the reformation of the world in 1955.

DESPITE its attractiveness, however, a "great debate" on Charter revision is precisely what our country does *not* need today. There are several reasons why such a debate would serve no constructive purpose.

1. *Discussions regarding Charter revision are doomed to legal sterility.* However enchanted those who study Charter review may become with devices which will alter the voting procedure in the Security Council and abolish the veto, and however suggestive and original plans of "weighted" voting, in contrast with the legal principle of equal voting rights for sovereign states, may appear, the contemporary political atmosphere will make any substantial modification of the Charter legally impossible. For the Charter itself (Article 108) requires that amendments must be "ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council." Amendments to the Charter, consequently, are themselves subject to veto by any of the Big Five powers—the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the U. S. S. R. Thus the legal abolition of the veto is itself subject to veto. In positive terms, an amendment to the Charter of the United Nations requires both the approval of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. and a two-thirds' majority of the members present and voting in the United States Senate.



Pertinent to any realistic analysis of plans for Charter revision, therefore, is the fact that the Soviet Union has been consistently antagonistic to contemplated changes in the Charter. Actually Soviet hostility toward documentary revision antedates the formal establishment of the United Nations: at the San Francisco Conference of 1945 which drew up the Charter delegates from the Soviet Union spoke in favor of requiring a three-fourths' majority in the General Assembly in order to convene a Charter-review conference. Andrei Vishinsky, on September 21, 1953, told the General Assembly that "those who want to revise the Charter would like to turn the United Nations Organization not into an effective instrument for the defense of peace . . . but into an instrument of an aggressive policy which, in itself, constitutes a threat to the peace." Exhibiting the usual Soviet concern for the preservation of existing voting procedures in the Security Council, Vishinsky also declared that "the question of the revision of the Charter will doubtless be

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utilized by some powers in new attempts to subvert the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, and, *ipso facto,* to subvert the very cause of peace." Obviously, the lapse of nine years has brought no shift in the Soviet position on Charter revision, especially as it might impinge on voting procedure in the Security Council.

The prevailing state of Soviet-American relations makes it possible to predict with confidence that no significant change in the Charter of the United Nations will obtain the agreement among the Big Five required by the Charter's provisions for amendment.

2. *A "great debate" on Charter revision will not educate the American people in the realities of international politics.* The political environment and the enormous symbolic significance and prestige enjoyed by the Constitution encourage our citizens to translate issues which are essentially social, economic, and political into constitutional and legalistic controversies. This predisposition finds striking expression in our tendency to look to the Supreme Court for the resolution of some of our most bitter and delicate controversies. We ask the Supreme Court, through its interpretation of the First Amendment, to determine whether or not the Communist Party is a legal party. We ask the Supreme Court to participate in the ultimate disposition of tidelands oil. We regard the Supreme Court as the proper agency to ban segregation in the schools.

In the arena of international politics and international organization, this constitutional and legalistic bias of American politics distorts our perspective. Decision-making in international politics fundamentally reflects the distribution of power among the various sovereign states in the world. Written agreements which conform to the configuration of power tend to be respected; treaties, charters, and covenants—regardless of the solemnity of the ceremonies marking their conclusions—which attempt to ignore the distribution of power in the world tend to be disregarded or discarded. In view of the American proclivity for the constitutional formulation of issues, an intensive discussion of detailed proposals for Charter revision would undoubtedly give rise to expectations which could not possibly be realized. No change in the language of the Charter can nullify the realities of Soviet industrial and military power. And no juggling of words, no feats of legal draftsmanship, can dissipate the clouds which hang over Soviet-American relations.

Consideration of proposals for Charter revision, by catering to the American predisposition to constitutional solutions, would focus attention on an approach to international affairs which is fraught with potentialities for disillusionment. By failing to aid Americans to understand the role of power in world politics, by diverting energies to pseudo-issues, the incipient debate on Charter review, in so far as educational accomplishments are concerned, will be largely futile.

3. *The international-propaganda rewards of a debate on Charter review are likely to prove dubious.* It is sometimes argued that even if no tangible changes in the Charter are effected, the debates on the proposed amendments will enlist world opinion on the side of the United States. The available evidence, however, does not warrant the view that the United States can achieve a cheap and striking propaganda triumph through its vociferous advocacy of Charter revision. Important non-Communist and anti-Communist states have expressed skepticism regarding the outcome of a Charter-review conference. Oesten Unden, Foreign Affairs Minister of Sweden, for example, at the eighth session of the General Assembly, declared:

> I believe that a scrutiny of the suggestions for significant amendments to the Charter would reveal that they either reflect illusions as to the political reality in which we are living or have some other aim than the realization of the proposed changes.
>
> In conclusion, I should like to summarize my remarks by expressing the opinion that a revision of the basic parts of the Charter constitutes no immediate or important goal. As a matter of fact, the Charter is, on the whole, satisfactory. Provided that there is sufficient will to cooperate, the machinery of the present Charter can render excellent service. . . .
>
> The demands for revision . . . would render the contents of the Charter more utopian; they would remove its provisions still further from reality. The general public should not, however, have the illusion that such proposals would constitute

"I may just yank out the whole thing."

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a short-cut to a more secure world and a more stable peace. The prospects for lasting peace depend on the international policies pursued by the states, particularly by the great powers, and not on the drawing up of perfect provisions in the Charter of the United Nations.

With a caution not unusual in the conduct of British foreign affairs, Selwyn Lloyd advised delegates to the General Assembly "to refrain from taking up rigid positions." However, he added: "I am sure that all of us should ponder very carefully indeed the wise words spoken in the Assembly this morning by the representative of Sweden . . it must be remembered that any proposals for the revision of the Charter are subject to the exercise of the veto." Perhaps voicing the British attitude with greater frankness, the London *Times* has commented: "It is not easy to see how the revision of any document can change the awkward facts of international life." An Indian delegate, possibly reflecting "neutralist" sentiments, has informed the Assembly that India neither supports nor rejects the idea of revising the Charter. And Hugo Hergel, representing Denmark, has expressed the belief that present difficulties cannot be solved merely by a legalistic revision of the Charter.

Given the preoccupation of peoples with local issues, given the present conditions of literacy, education, and access to information in the world, a debate on Charter revision, except in a very few countries, will not penetrate below a thin veneer of government officials. A spectacular propaganda coup with the world's millions is beyond the grasp of the supporters of Charter revision. And sophisticated diplomats are likely to discount the value of the unrealistic, sanctimonious, and inevitably fruitless concentration on verbal formulations which a debate on Charter review will stimulate.

4. *A debate on Charter revision will once again focus attention on the veto—a straw man in international politics.* A favorite object of attack for Charter reformers is Article 27 with its requirement of unanimity on substantive matters among the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the U. S. S. R. It is rare that indifference toward the United Nations extends so far as to include ignorance of the problem of the veto. Were it not for Soviet manipulation of voting procedure in the Security Council, some appear convinced, the United Nations could operate as an effective agency for the maintenance of international peace.

Examination of the actual use of the veto, however, points to the conclusion that the veto is primarily a symptom of international friction. The number of times that resolutions have failed of adoption in the Security Council because of the negative vote of a permanent member, despite seven affirmative votes, and the issues affected, are shown below:

Number of Vetoes	*Issue*
4	U. N. policy toward Franco government of Spain.
6	Balkan conflict, involving Greece and neighbors.
1	British and French troops in Syria and Lebanon.
1	Corfu Channel dispute between Albania and Great Britain.
2	U. N. investigation of Communist assumption of power in Czechoslovakia.
1	Atomic-energy control plan.
3	Disarmament plans.
3	Indonesia.
2	Israeli-Arab conflict.
1	Berlin question.
1	Peace Observation Commission for Thailand.
1	Reference to Guatemalan complaint to Organization of American States.
7	Korea, China, germ warfare, etc.
2	Secretary Generalship of U. N.
28	Admission of new members.
63	

Of these sixty-three vetoes, the Soviet Union alone has been responsible for sixty-one; France and the Soviet Union together insisted that a resolution dealing with the Franco regime of Spain was substantive and not procedural; and France alone vetoed a resolution to establish a commission to supervise fulfilment of a Security Council resolution on the cessation of hostilities between Indonesia and the Netherlands. Obviously, the U. S. S. R. has been the state most concerned with the veto.

But in the light of this record what would the United Nations have accomplished which it failed to accomplish because of Article 27? With United States indorsement the General Assembly originally approved a resolution that chiefs of mission should be withdrawn from Madrid; later, again with United States indorsement, it rescinded the resolution. Would United Nations policy toward the Franco government of Spain have differed in the absence of Soviet vetoes?

The decisive factor in the Greek civil war and Balkan border conflicts, of course, was the enunciation and implementation of the Truman Doctrine by the United States rather than any action or failure of action on the part of the United Nations. A Soviet veto of a resolution expressing confidence that foreign troops would be withdrawn from Syria and Lebanon did not hinder the subsequent withdrawal of British and French troops. The Soviet veto of a resolution finding Albania guilty of laying unnotified minefields in the Corfu Straits was superseded by a decision of the International Court of Justice.

Could the U. N. have sent an investigating team into Czechoslovakia over Soviet opposition, regardless of the voting provisions in the Charter? Do we wish to subscribe to an atomic-energy control plan not adhered to by the Soviets? Do we want to disarm if the Soviets are uncommitted to disarmament? Obviously, in all these cases Soviet agreement is indispensable, and the requirement of agreement by Article 27 of the Charter merely recognizes political and military realities.

The Soviet vetoes on Indonesia, including the veto of a resolution extending congratulations to the Dutch and Indonesians, in no substantial way affected the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia. In view of Arab opposition to the proposals supported by most states in the Security Council, Soviet vetoes of resolutions dealing with the Israeli-Arab conflict had little tangible significance. The issue of the Berlin blockade could not have been settled peaceably without Soviet approval, and ultimately agreement was reached in direct negotiations between American and Soviet diplomats on United Nations premises. The Soviet veto of a proposal to dispatch a Peace Observation Commission to Thailand, in

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connection with the conflict in Indo-China, has not forestalled achievement of the objectives of the proposal by means of a General Assembly resolution. The Soviet veto on the Guatemalan issue, while undoubtedly irritating to the United States, neither restricted the functioning of the United Nations nor barred participation by agencies of the Organization of American States. Again in these cases, it is apparent, Soviet vetoes did not materially influence the outcome in a direction other than that dictated by the current distribution of power among the states involved.

Korea and its associated issues reveal the futility of attributing our political frustrations to the exercise of the veto in the Security Council. Clearly, the United Nations, without resorting to war, could not investigate plane incidents and germ-warfare charges in China in the face of the opposition of the Chinese Communist government. Soviet vetoes on these issues simply registered Chinese Communist opposition. And as for dispatching troops to Korea, members of the United Nations could act in accordance with General Assembly resolutions after Soviet vetoes made continuance of the Korean issue on the Security Council agenda impracticable. Soviet vetoes do not account for the fact that no members of the United Nations except the United States sent troops in large numbers to Korea. It was not the voting procedure which made it necessary for us to carry the main burden of the war.

Actually only two issues brought before the Security Council might have been decided otherwise if a different voting procedure had obtained there. When Trygve Lie's first term as Secretary General expired, the General Assembly circumvented a Soviet veto of a second term for him by adding three years to the original five-year term. Lie, however, embarrassed by the Soviet refusal to recognize the legality of his occupancy of office, resigned before the expiration of his lengthened term. In the absence of a Soviet veto the Security Council would thereupon have recommended Lester Pearson of Canada for the post rather than Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden.

The second issue on which Soviet vetoes have been exercised with practical effect is that of the admission of new members into the U. N. Soviet vetoes have kept out Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Italy (vetoed five times), Austria, Finland, Ceylon, the Republic of Korea, Nepal, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Libya, and Japan. But would the admission of these areas and the election of Lester Pearson as Secretary General have substantially altered prospects of world peace or the role of the United Nations?

This analysis shows that when the majority of states have been unable to act through the United Nations it has usually been because they have lacked the objective components of power—

economic, military, moral—necessary to impose their will; the source of the difficulty has not been the language of Article 27 of the Charter.

The availability of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution further emphasizes the symptomatic rather than causal role played by the veto: this resolution, adopted by the General Assembly in 1950, makes it possible to convene the General Assembly in emergency special session within twenty-four hours after a measure has been vetoed in the Security Council. Under the terms of the resolution the General Assembly may make recommendations for collective measures. A majority thwarted in the Security Council, therefore, may establish a U. N. "umbrella" for its actions in the General Assembly.

The Swedish delegate, Oesten Unden, appropriately reminded the General Assembly in September, 1953:

> The political situation in the world is not such that either of the two most powerful states is prepared to accept in advance important and binding political decisions which may be dictated or influenced in a decisive way by the other. . . .
>
> It is well known that as the United Nations Charter is now drafted no revision can be made without the affirmative vote of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The abolition of the right of veto constitutes a change which has no chance of obtaining the approval of all the permanent members of the Security Council. This profound revision of the Security Council's voting rules cannot, therefore, legally be attained at the present time.

5. *An irresponsible debate over Charter revision, by dividing and confusing public opinion in the United States, may dangerously weaken domestic support for the United Nations.*

Much of the criticism of the United Nations has been of a reckless and uninhibited nature. Charges have been made in the United States that the United Nations constitutes a world government, that it undermines American sovereignty, that specialized agencies of the organization such as UNESCO propagandize for a world state, and that the U. N. poses a persistent threat to the domestic jurisdiction of our government. These charges have not been without effect on public opinion. The serious and protracted consideration accorded the Bricker amendment, the declaration by Secretary of State Dulles that the Genocide Convention would not be submitted to the Senate for ratification, the disassociation of the United States from efforts to draft a covenant of human rights (despite Mrs. Roosevelt's prolonged identification, as an official United States representative to the U. N., with such efforts), all testify to the telling force of propaganda directed against the United Nations and the false specter of world government.

A general debate on Charter revision in the United States today may effectively undermine recent painstaking efforts to reassure critics of the United Nations. Proposals to transform the U. N. into a genuine world government capable of enacting binding legislation, proposals to modify the one-state, one-vote principle of sovereignty are likely to revive and intensify some of the fears regarding the U. N. which have been calmed by patient factual education. Hence the possibility of "strengthening" the U. N. substantially by means of a Charter-review conference is not great; but there is a real possibility of weakening the U. N. by a debate which will deprive the organization of some of its American support. When vociferous threats of American withdrawal from the existing U. N. are made by powerful Senators, a debate over Charter revision is a debate we do not need.

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SEDITION IN LOUISVILLE

The Braden Affair . . *by Jennings Perry*

Nashville, Tennessee

FOR helping the underprivileged ancients to a little piece of sacred fire, Prometheus was bound to the rock for the rest of time. Last month, for helping a Negro buy a decent little house in a white neighborhood, Kentucky newspaperman Carl Braden was locked up for only fifteen years. [See editorial comment on page 43.]

Of course Braden was not charged with that offense. The color line in housing no longer is law. The charge against Braden was "sedition" under a blunderbuss Kentucky statute designed to cover every kind of thought, association, or deed tending to overthrow by force and violence the state government and/or the government of the United States. He was convicted on fantastically ridiculous grounds. The worst the state attempted to prove was that Braden was or had been a Communist. The "crime," however, which brought him into court was that he bought a "white" house under his own name and sold it to his friend, Andrew Wade, Negro.

That was last May. In June, after a sordid cross-burning, the house was blown up with dynamite. Pestered for an investigation by Braden and a few other persons aroused by the vandalism, Commonwealth's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton took the case to the grand jury in September—with strange results. Braden, his wife, and several others of the group that had demanded the investigation were indicted on the sedition charge. Hamilton claimed to have evidence that the whole thing was a plot, Communist inspired or directed, to cause racial tension.

Braden was tried in Criminal Court in Louisville in December. A studious, serious young man, a native Kentuckian, he had always been interested in sociological problems. His father had been a labor organizer. Braden himself was formerly labor editor of the Louisville *Times;* at the time of his indictment he was a copyreader on the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. None of his newspaper associates believed that he could have had any part in a "plot" to blow up the home of the man he had befriended.

The state did not try to link him with the one act of violence that had occurred, the dynamiting, either by participation or by connivance. Instead, with copious help from the F. B. I. and the use of nine shopworn witnesses who had been either Communist Party members or F. B. I. plants in the party, it set out, in a sad familiar pattern, to damn Braden by the literary company he kept. None of the "expert" witnesses—among whom were Matt Cvetic, Leonard Patterson, Benjamin Gitlow, Manning Johnson, and James W. Glatis—even pretended to know the defendant; all were book critics, ready to testify to the guilt of some of Braden's volumes.

Braden had many books on his shelves, for the most part quite "innocent" ones, including a number of volumes of poetry. While he was in jail, the state raided his apartment and seized certain books and papers which it produced as evidence at the trial. A great deal was made of the fact that one of the books was a compendium of the constitution and laws of the U. S. S. R., which, some witnesses declared, was given only to "favored members" of the Communist Party.

This business of the books went on for three days, after which Braden took the stand to admit that as a scholar he read books, all that he could, and that as a student of political science and a writer on labor affairs he read works on these subjects. His attorney, Robert W. Zollinger, drew from the state's witnesses the admission that none of the seized books advocated, suggested, or even mentioned violent overthrow of the government of the United States or of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Braden said he was not and never had been a member of the Communist Party, but that he saw much in socialism that was good and had always cherished peace.

Asked if he had been active in the movement to assist colored people, Braden replied: "In the course of my labor activities and as a boy I saw that Negro people were denied the rights they should have both as human beings and as working people. . . . I felt that was not right . . . I worked with them to help improve conditions."

That statement, given freely by the defendant, implied more strongly than anything adduced by the prosecution the possibility of some act on Braden's part which might have been disturbing to the established order. But the lead was not pursued, and up to the eleventh day of the trial the state's case against Braden for "sedition" never got off the ground. Then Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton sprang his surprise witness, Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, a seamstress, who testified that she had been a Communist for the F. B. I. since 1951, that Carl Braden had recruited her into the party, and that she had attended cell meetings at the Braden home where they discussed how "to promote peace in the United States and things of that sort."

Mrs. Ahearn, who has been on the F. B. I. pay roll at a rising rate of pay, gave her testimony under oath. Under oath, Braden denied it all. Closing the state's case, Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney Laurence E. Higgins told the jury they had only a "simple issue" before them: "Sedition is communism and communism is sedition—there is no distinction."

For three hours and nineteen minutes the jury thought that over and finally decided Braden ought to be punished with fifteen years in the penitentiary plus a $5,000 fine; worked out at $2 a day the fine could mean seven years more in prison.

Braden will appeal. Disinterested

JENNINGS PERRY, former newspaper columnist, is the author of "Democracy Begins at Home."

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legal minds in Louisville have assured him that the trial record contains at least forty-seven "reversible errors." A successful appeal would have more significance, however, if based on other than purely technical grounds: the law itself needs now to be put on trial.

Under the circumstances it cannot be argued that the verdict of the jury was not honestly arrived at. If the jurors were convinced that Braden was or had been a member of the Communist Party or that he was a Communist merely for having in his possession a copy of the Russian constitution, and that "communism is sedition," then they could hardly have found him not guilty under the statute. And if the fact that Braden lent Marx's "Capital" from his library to someone who asked to read it is equated with "advocacy," the jurors, mindful of their instructions and bound by the letter of the law, understandably could have felt themselves compelled to find the man guilty. But these are and ought to be tremendous if's in the Land of the Free, and but for the miasma of the times Braden should have every reason to expect that the absurd Kentucky law will not in the end prevail.

Carl Braden is a newspaperman of considerable experience. He has served as correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*, the New York *Herald Tribune* Syndicate, *Newsweek*, and the Federated Press, a labor news service. On the day of his conviction in the sedition case he was fired from the *Courier-Journal*, and Barry Bingham, president of the paper, issued the statement: "This newspaper has gone on the time-honored principle, rooted in our American Constitution, that a man is innocent until proved guilty. Since Braden was charged by the grand jury on October 1 he has performed no work for this organization but has been continued on our pay roll. His conviction now puts a permanent end to his connection with the *Courier-Journal*."

That Carl Braden ever by any act or word committed or "advocated" sedition or sought the improvement of government by other than peaceful means was not proved. Unquestionably he did aid a Negro to purchase a home in a "white" neighborhood—and thus conceivably sinned against "property rights." Had he not done this to oblige a friend, it is reasonable to assume that he and his books would never have been pounced upon by the police power of the state.

MALICE IN BLUNDERLAND

Report on the Foundations . . *by Paul Blanshard*

THE Reece committee of the House of Representatives, by a vote of two and one-half to two and one-half, has discovered that the great American philanthropic foundations are tainted. They are tainted not with reaction but with socialism. Two Republicans on that committee, B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee and Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan, assert that some of our larger foundations "have directly supported 'subversion' in the true meaning of that term. . . . They have actively supported the attacks upon our social and governmental system of socialism and collectivist ideas." And they have conducted a "vast propaganda" promoting internationalism "directed toward 'world government'" in derogation of American nationalism.

The two and one-half Representatives who supported this view were Reece, Wolcott, and one-half of another Republican, Angier L. Goodwin of Massachusetts. Goodwin let his name be used by Reece and Wolcott in getting out a so-called majority report, but he publicly repudiated the most important findings of his associates. The two and one-half Representatives who opposed the report were the left half of Mr. Goodwin and the two Democrats, Gracie Pfost of Idaho and Wayne L. Hays of Ohio. Mrs. Pfost and Mr. Hays found that "the proceedings of this committee placed an ugly stain on the majestic record of the United States House of Representatives." Whatever may be thought of the "majestic record" of the House, all reasonable citizens must agree with the minority's conclusion. The foundations under fire in this inquiry were not even given an opportunity to testify in their own behalf. They were railroaded to censure by a fanatically reactionary committee staff whose "evident opposition to foundation activity may well be characterized as pathological"—to quote the minority report.

How could two supposedly respectable and sane members of Congress reach such crackpot conclusions? One explanation is that Reece, as a bitter-end Taft Republican and former chairman of the Republican National Committee, was using his post for political vengeance. But before he could announce these conclusions he had to have on the record some shadow of reality to support them. That shadow of reality is contained in a 943-page book paid for by the taxpayers and called "Hearings of the House Committee on Tax-Exempt Foundations, Part I."* This book may well go down in history as a classic of moronic Americana, an irruption of malice in blunderland, and certainly the worst book of 1954. Its genesis goes back to the action of the Eighty-second Congress in appointing a committee to investigate possible radicalism in great tax-exempt foundations, under the chairmanship of Eugene Cox of Georgia. Mr. Cox started his inquiry with a strong prejudice against foundations but ended with a very mild report. There had been a few leftist "mistakes," he discovered,

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of the much-discussed "American Freedom and Catholic Power," is now at work on a study of literary censorship in the United States.

*For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for $2.50.

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but they were trifling in the total picture.

Although Mr. Reece had been a member of the Cox committee, he was not willing to stop with its conclusions. Probably he saw himself as the Great Exposer and the Great Protector, elevated to that rank by TV—it was in the days of McCarthy's ascendancy. In the Eighty-third Congress he dragged out again the apparition of red-tainted billions and maneuvered through the House a bill for a new inquiry, "especially to determine which such foundations or organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities." "There is evidence," he shouted, "to show that there is a diabolical conspiracy back of all this. Its aim is the furtherance of socialism in the United States . . . these Communists and Socialists seize control of fortunes left behind by capitalists when they die and turn these fortunes around to finance the destruction of capitalism."

Reece then proceeded to hire an investigating staff of the "right" people. Two of them were so unsuitable that the minority succeeded in having them rejected. Among the others were two New York tax lawyers, a young man who had worked for the McCarran committee, and an electrical engineer who had served as a kind of volunteer F. B. I. worker with the old American Protective League. None of the staff members appeared to be specialists in education or social science. They decided to concentrate on the educational divisions of the big three—Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. Apparently unable to find anything wrong with the foundations themselves, they based their whole case on selected paragraphs from books and magazine articles by scholars belonging to learned societies financed by tax-exempt organizations.

THE star witness located by the staff and brought in from California at taxpayers' expense was Aaron M. Sargent, a San Francisco lawyer who was known in California as a kind of professional reactionary; he was a leader in the fight against Harold Rugg's social-science textbooks and a former chairman of the Americanization Committee of the Sons of the American Revolution. In this Reece hearing he sits down at page 189 and does not leave until page 410. Here are some of his nuggets of wisdom:

Berger

B. Carroll Reece

The Rockefeller Foundation . . . has aided the introduction of Communist practices in our school system and is defending and supporting the continuance of these practices in the schools.

The Ford Foundation used its financial power to attempt to resist the will of the people of Los Angeles in connection with a pamphlet known as the "E in UNESCO." This pamphlet was put out by the Los Angeles City School Department, and it promotes various UNESCO activities, and it includes the international declaration of human rights. Mr. Paul Hoffman, the president of the Ford Foundation, personally appeared before the Los Angeles Board of Education and sought to prevent the removal of these pamphlets.

Fabian socialism . . . developed into the movement which has undermined and almost destroyed the economic system of Great Britain. . . . When the beachhead was established in our country . . . the radical intellectuals attacking that system relied upon propaganda and brainwashing. They organized an attack upon patriotism. . . . They sought to create a blackout of history by slanting and distorting historical facts. They introduced a new and revolutionary philosophy—one based on the teachings of John Dewey. As early as 1892 they sought to establish the federal income tax to pave the way for national federal socialism.

I say that John Dewey's philosophy struck a mortal blow at natural law, and that is the cement which binds this country of ours together from the standpoint of religion, philosophy, and governmental policy.

If these utterances of Mr. Sargent seem slightly jaundiced, they are no more so than the utterances of Chairman Reece himself. Before the hearings started, Reece declared publicly that the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," financed by the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Russell Sage foundations, was "to a large extent propaganda for communism and socialism. . . . The articles on Fabianism and guild socialism were written by the Socialist G. D. H. Cole. . . . The article on Individualism and Capitalism was written by Charles Beard, who at the time he wrote this article was a leftist." Sure enough, the committee staff "confirmed" Reece's view and came up with the names of twenty-one authors of articles in the "Encyclopedia" who were alleged to be "Marxian," "Socialist," or connected with front organizations. Mr. Reece's investigators also "discovered" that the National Education Association had issued a book called "Education for Understanding in American Schools" which said "the world-minded American knows that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace and that nations must cooperate to achieve peace and human progress."

THESE startling discoveries were confirmed and amplified by several right-wing professors, two of whom had been witnesses before the McCarran committee. Kenneth Colegrove, retired professor of political science at Northwestern University, was a much more restrained witness than Mr. Sargent, but his testimony managed to come out at the right place. He described Charles Beard's "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" as "pathological" and declared: "There is undoubtedly too much money put into studies which support globalism and internationalism." To sustain the latter thesis he filed with the committee a long list of books circulated by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, condemning those which he considered harmful in the following terms:

Pearl S. Buck, "The Good Earth"—slightly leftist.

Sir Arthur Salter, "Recovery, the Second Effort"—globalist.

Percy E. Corbett, "Britain: Partner for Peace"—extremely globalist.

Allen W. Dulles and Hamilton Fish Armstrong, "Can America Stay Neutral?"—ultra-globalist.

Nathaniel Peffer, "Basis for Peace in the Far East"—leftist.

R. M. McIver, "Toward an Abiding Peace"—extremely globalist and careless of the American national interest.

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Harold J. Laski, "Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty"—opposed to the national interest; inclined toward extreme left.

Raymond Leslie Buell, "International Relations"—globalist.

Clarence K. Streit, "Union Now"—globalist and submersion of national interest. Fallacious in his analogy of Union of American States in 1781 with world federation.

Mr. Reece found in A. H. Hobbs, an assistant professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania, just what he wanted, an egghead who was critical of nearly all other eggheads. Hobbs is a man who has spent much time in recent years dredging in the field of social science to discover some works left of center which can be smeared by calling them "unscientific." In 1951 he produced a book entitled "The Claims of Sociology" in which he analyzed the content of eighty-three sociology textbooks and discovered that a large proportion of them underemphasized the virtues of our competitive economic system and exalted collectivism and loose morals. His analysis was greeted with amused silence in most places except Arkansas, where it produced last year an investigation of sociology textbooks used in state institutions which turned out to be a complete dud.

At the Reece hearing Mr. Hobbs included among his targets Alfred C. Kinsey and Stuart Chase, since they had both received foundation funds for research. Chase, it seems, had "definitely indicated his leanings toward collectivism and social planning" and had afterward produced a book called "The Proper Study of Mankind" in which he tried to apply scientific methods to the problems of human relations. This, it seems, is unscientific; social phenomena cannot be measured like physical phenomena. Those wishing to follow up this important discovery may purchase, the testimony indicated, the latest and most authoritative work in this field, "Social Problems and Scientism," by no less an authority than A. H. Hobbs. It is published by a printer in Harrisburg, sells for $5, and is warmly indorsed by Raymond Moley.

This did not produce many headlines; so Mr. Hobbs attacked Dr. Kinsey. Kinsey was supported by foundation funds; Kinsey tried to apply science to sex; Kinsey revealed "the supposed beneficial effects of pre-marital sexual experiences" for females. Ergo, there must be something unscientific and immoral in foundations. This line quickly produced headlines.

FORTUNATELY there was one man on the committee who pricked these oratorical bubbles as fast as they were blown up—Wayne L. Hays, a Democrat from Ohio. When Hobbs got through with Stuart Chase, Hays asked: "Do you think Stuart Chase or Mickey Spillane has done more damage to America?" When Sargent attacked the small and academic League for Industrial Democracy with its honorable record of sympathy for Fabian socialism in order to smear Senator Paul Douglas, who had once belonged, Hays said: "I think we have a responsibility as members of Congress not to bring in any obscure character assassins and dignify them by letting them use this as a forum to assassinate right and left."

Hays's neatest job of deflation was done when the above-mentioned electrical engineer, Thomas McNiece, employed by the committee as a researcher in social science and education, took the witness stand and began to pontificate on the nature of revolutionary thought. Hays was politely sympathetic with Mr. McNiece's amateurish efforts to find the truth in so complex a field. Would Mr. McNiece give him the benefit of his wisdom in identifying the sources of three obviously questionable statements? Then he handed the witness three passages, one of which, typical of all three, read:

> Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult working man just such a wage. In the connection we might utter a word of praise for various systems devised and attempted in practice by which an increased wage is paid in view of increased family burdens and a special provision made for special needs.

Mr. McNiece, unabashed, said: "All of these—I do not know your source—are closely comparable to Communist literature that I have read."

"I can identify them," said Mr. Hays. "The first and last were from the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on labor. The middle one [quoted above] was from the encyclical of Pius XI."

After this incident it was scarcely necessary for Pendleton Herring, president of the Social Science Research Council, to present to the committee the only testimony for the defense. It was so effective that Chairman Reece declared an adjournment before Mr. Herring was through.

To the credit of American scholarship it should be noted that the Reece committee actually did find a few foundation-financed studies expressing a reasonable hope in the possibilities of collective planning. The great foundations do not always buy professorial minds with their dollars. When they subsidize a learned society they frequently get a conclusion quite critical of the status quo. Perhaps the best study of this type which was "exposed" by the committee is the sixteen-volume report of the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, begun in 1927 and only recently completed. According to the committee's research director, it "demands a radical change in many of the major premises underlying our economic, social, and cultural life." Such horrifying "propaganda," according to Mr. Reece, must not be subsidized in the future by tax-exempt foundations. "It is clear to us," says his report, "that all support of socialism, collectivism, or any other form of society or government which is at variance with the basic principles of ours should be proscribed." Mr. Reece favors a law. It will protect our "happiness and safety" from such ideas in the future.

Courtesy St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Christmas Spirit of Congressman Reece

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BOOKS

Sixty-five Days in Russia

THE RED CARPET: 10,000 MILES THROUGH RUSSIA ON A VISA FROM KHRUSHCHEV. By Marshall MacDuffie. W. W. Norton and Company. $4.50.

By Ernest J. Simmons

THE beginning of the trip was cloaked in that atmosphere of mystery which surrounds all relations with the Soviet Union nowadays. A cable to Krushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party, whom Marshall MacDuffie, as chief of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRRA) mission, had met in the Ukraine in 1946; then the long wait, and finally a strange foreign-sounding voice on the telephone in September, 1953: "Mr. MacDuffie, do you want to go to the Soviet Union?" Next the precious visa and a trip to Mrs. Shipley: "'Where did you get this? Where did you get this?' she cried in a flurry. 'At the Soviet Embassy, where else could I?' . . . 'Put that stamp on it; put that stamp on it,' and quicker than you could say Soviet Union her secretary had stamped my passport in large red letters: 'Void.'" Then came a visit to "one of the most important officials in the State Department," who said: "I think you're safe with that visa in the Soviet Union. But let's face it. They'll try to use you for their own purposes, and they can be very ruthless if it suits them. If they choose to frame you as a defector to communism —or label you as an enemy agent, they will." So Mr. MacDuffie took no chances —he left behind him several notes and affidavits indicating that he loved his country, just in case he was represented later as having "uttered" statements to the contrary.

Mr. MacDuffie entered the Soviet Union, spent sixty-five days there, and traveled 10,000 miles, from Leningrad to Moscow, then to the Ukraine and eastward to Alma-Ata, and back by way of Samarkand, Ashkhabad, Tiflis, and Stalingrad. He took 11,000 photographs, interviewed Krushchev and scores of other people, inspected numerous institutions, factories, collective farms, and homes of families, and brought back with him safely to America 2,100 pages of uncensored notes. Apart from a few brushes with polite policemen over taking photographs—the Soviet police seem never to catch up on the new regulations on the taking of photographs—Mr. MacDuffie seems to have experienced no oppressive surveillance or tense atmosphere in all his wanderings over the Soviet Union, except in the American embassy in Moscow, where, he writes: "A visiting American like myself, even one who has served in the Department of State, cannot walk from room to room without an escort. Once or twice I forgot myself and rushed from the room of one official to the room of some friend, only to have a deadly serious marine pounce upon me and telephone both officials involved, in just rebuke. Nobody could step out of his room to the bathroom and leave me in his room alone."

As an observer Mr. MacDuffie never stirred from his hotel without camera and notebook in hand. Apparently with future speeches, articles, and a book in mind, every detail is recorded and often tiresomely reiterated as the traveler moved from city to city—each article for sale in shops, with its ruble equivalent in dollars at the official rate; the pictures on the walls in offices and institutions; the salaries of officials and workers he talked to; the items of dress people wore; the furnishings in rooms he visited; the questions asked him and the answers to questions he asked. The emphasis is on straight and accurate reporting with little attempt at economic, political, or social generalization. The generalizations he does make are those of an honest reporter caught between the conflicting propaganda claims of two nations engaged in a cold war.

With maddening monotony, testifying to the effectiveness of Soviet propaganda, the same questions were asked by citizens from all walks of life and in every district of the vast country Mr. MacDuffie visited: Why does the United States government surround the Soviet Union with bases? Why do Americans persecute Paul Robeson? Why didn't your government allow our chess team to enter your country without restrictions? Certain elements of these uniform questions even appeared in Mr. MacDuffie's interesting interview with Krushchev. And when Mr. MacDuffie pointed out the government's control of the press, the conformity it imposes on the minds of Soviet citizens, and the fact that he encountered no criticism of the government, the invariable, stereotyped, and familiar answers he received—even from Krushchev—were that the Republicans control most of the press in the United States; that such is the control of the capitalists over the minds of Americans that they have been able to create an air of hysteria in the United States; that if someone says anything good about the Soviet Union, he is called a Communist; that the Soviet press serves the interests of the people and reports the news from the workers' point of view.

DESPITE this discouraging kind of verbal fencing, Mr. MacDuffie emerged from his extensive sightseeing and numerous interviews with certain positive reactions. He was impressed by the tremendous physical rehabilitation of the country and the improvements in living standards over the low points he observed in these respects during his tour of duty in the Soviet Union at the end of the war. He warns against the popular American misconception that every Soviet worker "is a pitiful case, starved for food, dying of exhaustion, with the spirit of a whipped dog." Despite their obvious poverty, he declares, "these people are strong and vigorous and many seem happy." Though he deplores the uniformity of thought endlessly reflected in the answers to his questions and the astonished disbelief that greeted him everywhere when he tried to explain to Soviet citizens that American war fears are prompted by the Soviet government's actions abroad, all to whom he talked, plain citizens as well as officials, seemed passionately devoted to peace. Yet, Mr. MacDuffie cautions, "I believe the Kremlin leaders may be counting on

ERNEST J. SIMMONS, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia, is the author of "U. S. S. R., a Concise Handbook," and other books.

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their ability to switch this obsessive desire for peace into a feeling of righteous rage in the future emergency by charging that some nation has broken the peace that every Russian holds dear."

It is no criticism of the zeal and good intentions of Mr. MacDuffie to say that there is an ancient dulness about these books of American visitors to the Soviet Union. We had a huge spate of them in the 1930's, mostly by authors who apologized for the bad things in the country. Now, with the bars let down somewhat on the granting of visas and the prohibition on wide travel, we may anticipate a growing list of books that will apologize for the good things in the Soviet Union. Indeed, Mr. MacDuffie has been somewhat "scooped" by recent books of returning diplomats and correspondents whose newspaper serials will probably become books. Thousands of people from Western Europe are visiting the Soviet Union these days, and hundreds of Soviet citizens are traveling to the countries of the West. Whatever ulterior motives the Soviets may have in promoting such cultural interchanges, it would be well for the United States to take the same attitude on this matter as their allies in Western Europe. Perhaps some of the profound ignorance of each other, which undoubtedly contributes to the present tension between the two countries, would be dissipated by such widespread cultural exchanges. Then the day may even come when a Marshall MacDuffie may not feel it necessary to leave behind him in safekeeping affidavits and notes testifying to the fact that he is a patriotic American and that anything he may be forced to say in the Soviet Union under duress against his country is not to be taken seriously.

Fiction Roundup

MUSEUM PIECES. By William Plomer. Noonday Press. $3.50. An urbane novel, very British and very amusing. William Plomer, however, is not all wit and narrative trickery; he presents a moving portrait of charming if obsolete people, and their vanishing world of "fine things, of marble and wood and silk and glass; things hand-made as they are never likely to be made again."

GALA DAY. By Robert De Vries. Vanguard Press. $3.95. Powerful treatment of two themes—medical corpsmen in battle and religious hypocrisy in one sector of American life. A bitterly effective book.

BENTON'S ROW. By Frank Yerby. Dial. $3.50. Frank Yerby has written another novel. This sample speaks for itself:

"Oh damn you!" Sarah got out. "I hate you, I hate . . ."

"No you don't, Sary-gal," Tom murmured. "You love me with every living inch of that smooth 'n' silky hide o' yourn; and you ain't never gonna git shut o' me—'cause you can't!"

THE CROSS AND THE SWORD. By Manuel de Jesús Galván. Translated from the Spanish by Robert Graves. Indiana. $3.75. A romantic novel about Caribbean Indians during the Spanish settlement, sponsored in English translation by UNESCO as one of its Latin American Classics series. The book has considerable historical interest but not much else to offer a modern reader.

A VIEW OF THE TOWN. By Jan Hilliard. Abelard-Schuman. $3.50. Quiet, neatly turned story-telling in a novel of small-town Nova Scotia life. Miss Hilliard knows her people and is generally fond of them; her book is pleasant but bland.

SOMETHING TERRIBLE, SOMETHING LOVELY. By William Sansom. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Fragile short stories by William Sansom, who crochets fiction quickly and beautifully until even horror seems charming. Here is paradox, metaphor, irony, and image—everything but the strength of life itself. Sansom approaches his material like one of his own characters "who had become obsessed with the pattern of flies on a glass roof."

THE LAST HUNT. By Milton Lott. Houghton Mifflin. $3.95. A powerful first novel about the slaughter of the American buffalo herds, offering valuable insight into some neglected—and tragic—aspects of the "noble West." No indictment here, but probing of men who lived close to the smell of death and were able to accept as something quite natural "a tobacco pouch made from a squaw's breast."

ONLY FADE AWAY. By Bruce Marshall. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50. An affectionate portrait of the type of British army officer made obsolete by the growing impersonality of modern war. The author, a competent workman, maintains interest and sympathy for his Colonel Blimp hero. He writes with considerable wit and presents a sharp account of army politics.

THE BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER KWAI. By Pierre Boulle. Translated from the French by Xan Fielding. Vanguard. $3. Colonel Blimp again, this time seen through Gallic eyes. The result is devastating: a tragi-comic and highly readable story of a courageous but obtuse career officer who builds a bridge for the Japanese because he "likes to see a job well done."

ACQUAINTED WITH THE NIGHT. By Heinrich Böll. Translated from the German by Richard Graves. Holt. $3. Poverty and love in post-war Germany recreated with somber prose. Heinrich Böll ends his book on a note of mild affirmation, but the dominant moods are submission and hopelessness. There is also the persistent and still unanswered question: how was it possible for these appealing, sensitive folk to become the "good citizens" of a murderous regime?

SUT LOVINGOOD. By George Washington Harris. Edited with an Introduction by Brom Weber. Grove Press. $4. Harris's "Sut Lovingood," popular American character of the nineteenth century, returns in a bright new edition. Pungent philosophy and wild exaggera-

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MAX FREEDMAN

Max Freedman, Washington correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian*, will report on political developments in Washington each week for *Nation* readers. Mr. Freedman has been a member of the editorial board of the Winnipeg *Free Press* and commentator for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He was assigned to the United Nations for six years and has covered important international conferences here and abroad. In 1944-46 he was assistant to Canada's Minister of Trade and Commerce. During the war years he served in England with the Royal Canadian Engineers. In addition to his work as a correspondent Mr. Freedman is writing a book on the Supreme Court.

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THE BEGGARS IN THE SUN. By Paul Darcy Boles. Macmillan. $3. Lilting prose in a novel that comes close to a folksong and has the satisfactions as well as limitations of a ballad. Everything Boles touches turns clean. His book hardly needs to be read at all, but breathed like fresh country air.

PETER DOMANIG IN AMERICA: BRASS. By Victor White. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.95. Part three of a sprawling series concerned with a successful young immigrant who does considerable soul-searching about America, love, and life. Pleasant, but less profound—both as art and social document—than its pretensions. Readers accustomed to denser fiction may find Victor White's parochial approach too transparent.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

THE condition of sculpture in America today offers little encouragement to the earnest beginner. To put it mildly, the sculptor's lot is not a happy one. A few sculptors will survive the triple attrition of neglect, economic need, and the passage of time. A few will sell one or two works to five or six museums and a clutch of daring collectors. Meanwhile, public commissions will continue to go to a coterie of walled-in 3-D illustrators and Beaux Arts ghosts handy with dead allegory. State Senators and national Congressmen will continue to authorize the expenditure of public moneys for marbleized mementos of the victory of Pennsylvania over New Jersey or the entry of G. I. Joe into Valhalla.

All this is possible because almost nobody looks at sculpture.

More than painting, sculpture is rooted in the physical existence of things—their displacement of space, their weight, density, texture, perforation, ductility, tensile strength. It is not detached or set on a wall but something engaged in the same space in which we live and move. It claims our attention in the same terms as other objects, and yet its whole meaning is expressed in absolutely different terms. More than painting, sculpture breaks the Second Commandment. Thomas Eakins won the battle of the nude (posthumously) for American painting, but nude sculpture still has to overcome the folklore of the sideshow, whether it be Hiram Powers's Greek Slave, touring the country a century ago propelled by churchly certificates of respectability, or Jacob Epstein's Adam of the day before yesterday.

In the English-speaking world sculpture and ethics have long been mortal enemies. The outcome of their combat provides a way of distinguishing whole cultures. Maillol's greatest masterpiece, a slumberous seated woman, plastic as Poussin and silent as Cézanne, is with utmost exactness entitled Mediterranean. Between the Middle Ages and Henry Moore it is difficult to name a single British sculptor except Sir Christopher Wren's helper, Grinling Gibbons, whose work is largely confined to decorative woodcarving. (Even Gibbons was born in Amsterdam, though probably of English parents.)

It is tempting to account for sculpture's difficulties in America in economic terms. We have it from Bea Lillie that the best things in life are very expensive. On that basis sculpture should rate high, but the folklore lowers a curtain between our sculptors and our millionaires. Still another threat has recently emerged—reproductions, real painted plaster ones, of approved masterworks from the past. Our national cemetery at Arlington is the home of the newest and most monstrous memorial to a moment of greatest American heroism. It would be more appropriately placed at the entrance to the Rose Bowl, or even on a platform of the I. R. T.

How sculptors with a fresh and penetrating view of life keep going in the face of all these obstacles is a story of another kind of heroism. At least two of our best sculptors are dentists; some others are teachers (teaching is a profession, not a refuge); and some have private incomes. This is less heroic, but in our culture it is certainly no sin. The probable outcome is that many fine minds and talents go in other directions altogether. Arthur Pope's remark, made

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years ago to his classes at Harvard, that Titian would be a fine banker today still holds generally true for the arts, and particularly so for sculpture.

THE occasion for these comments is two exhibitions of the best work being done in the United States. One, by Isamu Noguchi, closed at the Stable Gallery on January 8; the other, by Herbert Ferber, will open at the Kootz Gallery about February 1.

Noguchi's art is of course rooted in Japan, where he spent his childhood, but he was born in California and he has worked in America as much as anywhere else. He has successfully avoided all those pitfalls of kitsch which entrap most persons who aspire to achieve a meeting of East and West. His art is personal, international, powerful, and very modern. It is tense, spare, daring, and often humorous. His animal caricatures belong with Toba Sojo's agile rabbits. His children, half lost in shredded ponchos, are more concentrated symbols, more poignant waifs, than Tchelitchew's. His vases—for reeds and rushes—are as sculptural as Marcel Breuer's stone fireplaces. He can make baked clay look as hard as sheets of bent iron, and as durable. His rock slabs rival Egypt and Mexican grinding stones. Taken as a whole, the exhibition was the most beautifully displayed sculpture show it has been my privilege to see in years, partly because of the spatial arrangement—Noguchi's own—partly because the Stable is New York's most beautiful gallery.

Since his last show, which exploited to the full the potentialities of bush forms, Herbert Ferber has been mining a new vein. His theme is the root and the pressures it exerts between the limits of horizontal and vertical planes. A greater compactness results, with a necessary sacrifice of the ingratiating lift of upward movement. Ferber fans, of whom I am in the lead, will have to get used to his new "roofs," but if they will apply the principles of Michelangelo's crowding of the frame as a way of expressing vitality, I freely predict that they will agree with me that Ferber's living art is continuing to evolve.

There was a heartening scatter of little red stars at the Stable Gallery. I profoundly hope that Ferber's new show will also be more than a *succès d'estime*.

Theater

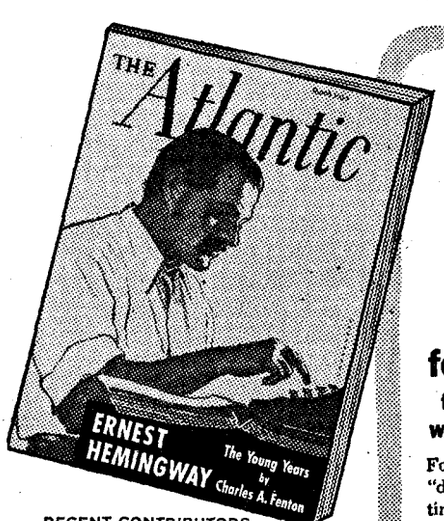
Harold Clurman

SOME plays possess so much quality that all their faults are absorbed and purified by it. Clifford Odets's "The Flowering Peach" (Belasco Theater) is such a play. It is warm-hearted, tender, sweet, and very funny with the best sort of comedy—the kind that makes one cry.

While "The Flowering Peach" is thoroughly enjoyable simply on the level of its freshness and endearing folksiness, it may be useful to understand it on another level. For in a sense Odets's latest work is not so much a play as a protracted *musing* in which the author appears to be trying to take some measure of himself. "What am I now?" he is asking himself. "Where am I in my life's journey? What do I believe? What attitude is proper and truthful for me? For I have been tried, and I have changed, and I must get clear about myself in relation to the world, so what I say henceforth may be clear to the world."

That is the way with poets: no matter how hard they try to be impersonal, they always speak of themselves. "The Flowering Peach" is an allegory, conveniently timed as "then—not now." Odets has taken the story of Noah and his family and by picturing them in terms of an American Jewish family given voice to all his present preoccupations. The most objectively drawn characters are Noah and his wife as father and mother. Ideologically, Odets has embodied himself in Noah and his youngest son, Japheth. Noah is the essential, instinctive Odets; Japheth the rational, thinking Odets. The others are sketchy types representing the world.

Noah was once a man of great gifts, a destined man—he invented the hoe and the rake. But somehow in the hectic



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PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Belief in God Robbed of Social Justice by Ancient Orthodoxy.—Social Justice overshadowed by "Righteousness."—Reversal of Emphasis Inevitable and Imperative.—Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when *Belief in God* came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right". And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

Return of Religious Emphasis to Social Justice Inevitable and Indispensable.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i. e.,"God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

Free Material Available.—A free circular is being sent out, upon request, giving additional information. Its title is, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History*. If you have already seen it, please do not ask for another copy, because it is in short supply. But if you have not seen it, you may send a three-cent stamp to cover postage on one copy.

In Addition to Above Circular, Further Material in Preparation.—The title of the new circular is, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief*. It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request *not* accompanied by a three-cent stamp (or two three-cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History*, already printed; and second, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief*, in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

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and sinful times he has lived through he has gone to seed. He has suffered for his dreams—dreams of universal comradeship in which all beings were to be sacred to one another—for, as he says, "evil is a thick wall, I have hurt my head many times." He finds himself old, tired. He drowns his confusion in aids to forgetfulness. But God has appeared to him once more, and because the world is threatened with total destruction he is asked—so he imagines—to go out in this lonesome time "to become a nuisance again."

His first and greatest service is to prophesy to the heedless world that it is threatened with doom. His youngest son refuses to countenance the thought of a vengeful, destructive God. The son believes in the power of the individual will, in a reasonable righteousness, in man's capacity to guide his own fate, in decency and goodness. He would rather die than continue to live in the senselessly cruel universe that Noah's cosmology implies. Noah, challenged by the new situation, becomes young again. He knocks Japheth out in order to get him aboard the Ark to safety.

The rest of the story takes the form of a dispute between Noah, who believes that God will save the Ark without the use of any special interference or "method" on Noah's part, and Japheth's view that the Ark must have a rudder, a systematic mode of approach to salvation through which the human will may exercise itself and shape its own destiny.

Because of the mother, who with the wisdom of nature itself plays the part of loving mediator in this struggle, there is a reconciliation. The rebel Japheth learns that his idealism is too absolute, that forbearance is necessary, while Noah concedes certain points to Japheth about God's need of man's courage, intelligence, work. Japheth must not believe he is too good to live; Noah must accept man's frailties, some of which, like his son Shem's money-grubbing, arise from healthy sources of resolution and sharp faculties. Japheth has been too arrogant, Noah too rabid a moralist. Japheth is told that truth is sometimes a luxury, and people wonder whether Noah is a saint or a fool.

What, then, are the play's conclusions? Noah's moral sense is needed to inspire the world; Japheth's strong arm and reason are necessary to fulfil some

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part of that inspiration? Even the business man Shem's canniness may be useful if he will employ it for the family, the community. Men must have humility, for the reality's substance sets the rules. In a time of upheaval it may be idealism enough simply to survive. When Noah is asked with whom he would like to spend his remaining days, he answers, "I'll go with Shem: it's more comfortable."

Is all this the beginning of wisdom or an apology for surrender? Does it bespeak resignation? compromise? defection? We cannot say; we must not be sure. What is certain is that "The Flowering Peach" represents Odets in spiritual transition. The play's honesty and value in this respect consist in not coming to more specific answers than the conciliatory ones it illustrates. For all its ideas—which are abstracts of the pull and tear of the author's impulses—it is not really a "philosophical" play. It sometimes drifts as if it did not know where it meant to go. Yet in this looseness there is a certain advantage: the play never lies. Odets improvises on a theme and through the ambiguities, stutterings, pronouncements, and random jokes we feel a man—immensely sensitive to the experience of his life and time. In the future Odets must turn away from allegory and return to the concrete and the contemporary. Still, we should not forget that his contribution to our theater does not lie in any intellectual or social position he has taken or may take but in the kindness and intuitive brother-feeling he brings to all the themes he treats.

If I pass over the stage aspects of "The Flowering Peach"—the enormously effective performances of Menasha Skulnik and Berta Gersten, the creative bareness of Mordecai Gorelik's sets, the flaws in direction—it is, as with the play's own occasional crudities, that the whole is so much more significant than the parts.

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA SL-203 offers the Budapest Quartet's performances of Haydn's six Quartets Op. 76; and inevitable comparison with the Schneider Quartet performances on Haydn Society HSQ-L reveals the major difference to be the refinement and smoothness of the Budapest playing as against the Schneider's more detailed, more energetic, more sharply rhythmed, and therefore more enlivening inflection. As a matter of fact the Budapest Quartet itself plays with more life in the old performance of No. 4 on ML-4216. In addition there is the difference in recorded sound; and here again it isn't only the Schneider performances that are more agreeably and beautifully and faithfully reproduced than these new Budapest performances, but the old Budapest performance of No. 4 that sounds more natural and agreeable—though it is far from having the beauty of the sound that comes off the first side of the Budapest recording of Dvorak's Piano Quintet Op. 81. (With each additional year and each new failure it becomes more astounding that in all the years of recording the Budapest Quartet Columbia has succeeded only once—on that first side of the Dvorak record, and not to the same degree even on the second side of this record—in giving us a faithful reproduction of the dark and rich sound of Schneider's cello, the sweet sound of Roisman's violin, the warm sound of all four strings. I have more than once confessed my inability to understand the workings of the record-company mind; and I am baffled again by the minds—not only of the Columbia recording staff this time, but of the members of the Budapest Quartet—which, hearing the first playback at the first Beethoven session in the Library of Congress auditorium, decided to stay; which, having spoiled the Beethoven recordings in this way, decided to spoil the Mozart and the Schubert in the same way; and which, having heard the beautiful sound of the Dvorak piece recorded in Columbia's 30th Street studio in New York, decided to go back to the Library of Congress for the Haydn Op. 76.)

The Haydn Society meanwhile has issued on HSQ-B the Schneider Quar-

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tet's performances of Haydn's Op. 2, with Weldon and Kathleen Wilber playing the horns in Nos. 3 and 5. These are early works, engaging for the most part, and with individual movements that are more than that—e. g., the impressive first movement and Adagio of No. 4, the lovely trios of minuet movements in Nos. 1, 2, 5, and 6.

Engaging too are the Telemann Quintet in G, Quantz Trio Sonata in C minor, and Alessandro Scarlatti Quintet in F on Haydn Society HSL-117, "Baroque Chamber Music"; but the Johann Christian Bach Quintet in D and Handel Trio Sonata in E flat I find less interesting. The performances by Rampal (flute), Pierlot (oboe), Gendre (violin), Hongne (bassoon), and Veyron-Lacroix (harpsichord) delight one with their beauty of sound, liveliness of inflection, and ensemble integration.

Outstanding is London LL-963, with a number of Domenico Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas played by George Malcolm, the superb harpsichordist of London's recent recording of Handel's "Messiah." The pieces include several of the finest—notably Longo 33, one of those that build up powerful tensions in slow tempo; and Malcolm produces on his lovely-sounding instrument the best performances I can recall hearing—performances with, among other things, a continuity of impetus and tension that is equally exciting in the brilliant fast pieces and in the powerful slow ones.

The Gabrieli motets on Vox PL-8830 are very beautiful; but the voices of the boys in the Capella di Treviso conducted by d'Alessi are not agreeable to the ear.

On the other hand the Choir of the Choral Academy of Lecco sounds good; but as conducted by Camillucci on Vox PL-8930 it sings in Victoria's fine "Missa pro Defunctis" and "Magnificat IV Toni" with heavy accentuation that I have never before heard in music of this kind and that I find unconvincing and disturbing this time.

The performance of Berlioz's Requiem by the Rochester Oratorio Society under Theodore Hollenbach doesn't attain the minimum of competence that would explain Columbia's issuing it to the public on EL-53.

But Columbia ML-4906 gives us a superb performance of Musorgsky's "Songs and Dances of Death" by George London with Ulanowsky at the piano—the first, moreover, to use the original Musorgsky text since Rudinov's performance on Gamut many years ago. I note one curious difference: "Trepak" begins on the Gamut record with a bare fifth from the piano; on the Columbia record the fifth is filled in with the third that makes it a major triad. And I haven't yet been able to investigate which of the two is in the printed music. London also sings a group of songs by Duparc, which are hardly the predestined companion-pieces for the Musorgsky songs.

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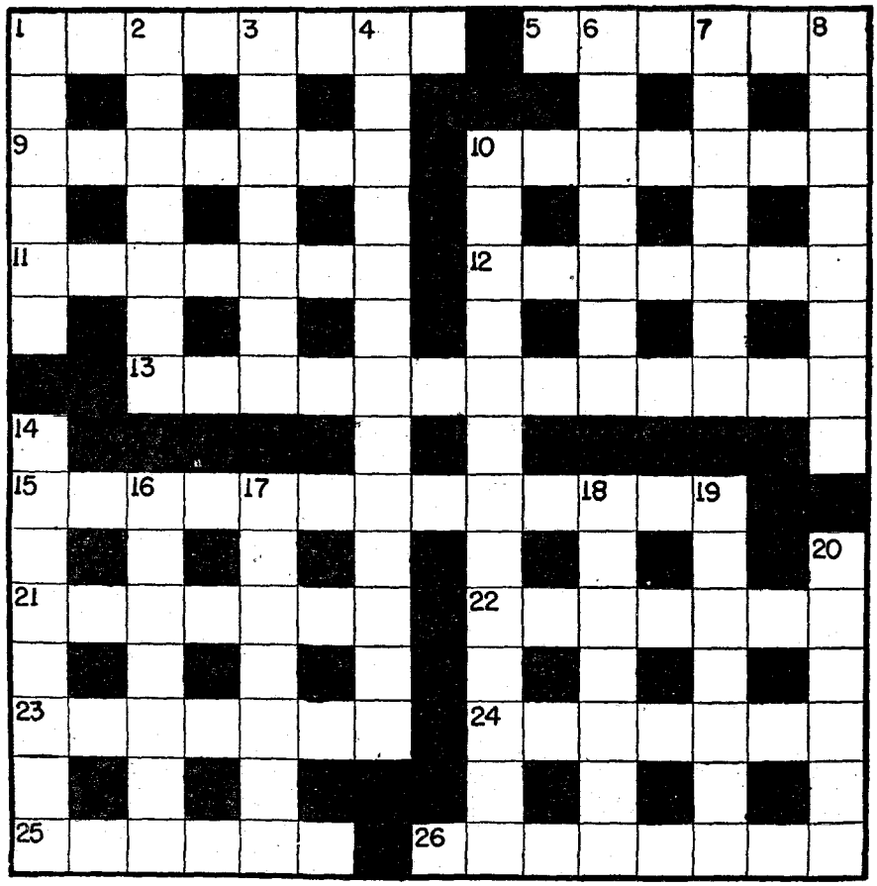
Crossword Puzzle No. 602

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Without reserve. (8)
5 Short measure cut off at a rapid rate. (6)
9 Certainly not static. (7)
10 Held creation in the twenties. (7)
11 Would one find such a type in a select role? (7)
12 Longed to be back home after a time? (7)
13 Put vans here, but not Black Marias. (7, 6)
15 Non-pareil. (6, 7)
21 One of the things Farragut condemned. (7)
22 It's a hot vice that might keep one warm. (7)
23 Rachel's boyfriend? (7)
24 Incipient. (7)
25 She gets mixed up with the wrong men. (6)
26 See 8 down.

DOWN

1 The current changes of Messrs. Fisher and Cantor. (6)
2 Parts of cars that shift for themselves? (7)
3 Add a skill up in the proper place. (7)
4 Did the thing which made the saying "We are not amused" make this? (8, 5)
6 A place where a scientist works to take a degree? (7)
7 No plate for the gulf! (7)
8 and 26. Michener was a few centuries too late to claim this. (8, 8)
10 Josephine was invited to come with it. (6, 7)
14 You can't keep close tab if you're looking for the bar. (8)
16 One too many feet and one two few arms for a sound body, as a sailor knows. (7)
17 Use the French plural form for it. (7)
18 A bad crime a country covered up. (7)
19 A number of impressions, perhaps. (7)
20 Pig-headed, by implication? (Turned out properly, however.) (6)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 601

ACROSS:—1 LILY PAD; 5 PICKETS; 9 FORLORN; 10 PANACEA; 11 JACK-IN-THE-PULPIT; 12 BLESSED; 13 SAMISEN; 14 CAMERAL; 17 WITHERS; 20 INCONGRUOUSNESS; 21 BRISTLE; 22 PRIVATE; 23 DIGESTS; 24 DELUDED.

DOWN:—1 LEFT JAB; 2 LORICAE; 3 PROMISSORY NOTES; 4 DENOTED; 5 PEPPERS; 6 CONSUMMATE SKILL; 7 ESCAPES; 8 SPARTAN; 14 CLIMBED; 15 MOCKING; 16 LARDERS; 17 WHOOPED; 18 EMERALD; 19 SUSPEND.

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AN ATHEIST MANIFESTO

A DECLARATION of INTELLECTUAL INDEPENDENCE

By Joseph Lewis

MANY ask what difference does it make whether man believes in a God or not.

It makes a big difference.

It makes all the difference in the world.

It is the difference between being right and being wrong; it is the difference between truth and surmises—facts or delusion.

It is the difference between the earth being flat, and the earth being round.

It is the difference between the earth being the center of the universe, or a tiny speck in this vast and uncharted sea of multitudinous suns and galaxies.

It is the difference in the proper concept of life, or conclusions based upon illusion.

It is the difference between verified knowledge and the faith of religion.

It is a question of Progress or the Dark Ages.

If you believe that there is a God; that man was "created"; that he was forbidden to eat of the fruit of the "tree of knowledge"; that he disobeyed; that he is a "fallen angel"; that he is paying the penalty for his "sins", then you devote your time praying to appease an angry and jealous God.

If, on the other hand, you believe that the universe is a great mystery; that man is the product of evolution; that he is born without knowledge; that intelligence comes from experience, then you devote your time and energies to improving his condition with the hope of securing a little happiness here for yourself and your fellow man.

That is the difference.

If man was "created", then someone made a grievous mistake.

It is inconceivable that any form of intelligence would waste so much time and effort to make such an inferior piece of life—with all the "ills that flesh is heir to," and with all the misery and suffering that is so essential a part of living.

If man is a "fallen angel," by the commission of a "sin," then disease and sorrow are part of God's inscrutable plan as a penalty imposed upon him for his "disobedience," and man's entire life is devoted to the expiation of that sin so as to soften the indictment before the "Throne of God."

The inevitable result is that Man devotes his life, not to the essentials of living and the making of a happy home, but to the building of temples and churches where he can "lift his voice to God" in a frenzy of fanaticism, and eventually he becomes a victim of hysteria.

His time and energy are wasted to cleanse his "soul," which he does not possess, and to save himself from a future punishment in hell which exists only in his imagination.

We do not believe that Man is a depraved human being. We do not believe that there is a tyrant God, or that there is a hell, and that man will suffer the pains and penalties of eternal torment. We do not believe that you should make yourself as miserable as possible Here in the hope of securing some happiness Hereafter.

We do not believe that disease is a punishment for sin.

We believe that disease is a natural consequence of the processes of life, and that the "ills of the flesh" inevitably follow where one form of life lives upon another, and where "at the banquet of life each in turn is a guest and a dish."

It is only by understanding the nature of disease that man has been responsible for epidemics that have, on many occasions, almost wiped out the human race. Prayer has had no more effect upon disease than it has upon health. It merely permits the disease to continue its course and increase the suffering of the victim.

If priests—of all clans—were free of disease and immune to death, then there might be some basis for the claim of the religionists. But these "men of God" are victims of the natural course of life, "even as you and I." They enjoy no exemptions. They suffer the same ills; they feel the same sensations; they are subject to the same passions of the body, the same frailities of the mind, are victims of circumstances and misfortune, and they meet inevitable death just as every other person.

* * *

They are not free from a single rule of life; what others must endure, they likewise must experience. They cannot protect themselves from the forces of nature, and the laws of life, any more than you can. What they can do, you can do, too. Their claims of being "anointed" and "vicars of God" on earth are false and hypocritical.

If they cannot fulfill their promises while you are alive, how can they accomplish them when you are dead?

* * *

As long as there is one person suffering an injustice; as long as one person is forced to bear an unnecessary sorrow; as long as one person is subject to an undeserved pain, the worship of a God is a demoralizing humiliation.

* * *

No believer in God would have spent his energies to discover anesthesia. He would have been in mortal fear of the wrath of his God for interfering with his "divine plan," of making man suffer for having eaten of the "Tree of Knowledge."

* * *

It is needless, I think, to tell you why the study of the human body is so recent. Until the emancipation of the mind of man from the thraldom and shackles of religion, it was taught and believed as a "religious truth," and maintained under the penalty of eternal damnation, that if the human body was dissected, God would not be able to recognize you on the day of resurrection!

* * *

When theology ruled the world, man was a slave.

The people lived in huts and hovels.

They were clad in rags and skins; they devoured crusts and gnawed bones; the priests wore garments of silk and satin; carried mitres of gold and precious stones, robbed the poor and lived upon the fat of the land!

* * *

Here and there a brave man appeared to question their authority.

These martyrs to intellectual emancipation slowly and painfully broke the spell of superstition and ushered in the Age of Reason and the Dawn of Science.

Man became the only god that man can know.

He no longer fell upon his knees in fear. He began to enjoy the fruits of his own labor.

He discovered a way to relieve himself from the drudgery of continuous toil; he began to enjoy a few comforts of life—and for the first time upon this earth he found a few moments for happiness.

It is far more important to learn how to live than to learn how to pray.

* * *

Remember this: You are not a depraved human being.

You have no sins to atone for.

There is no need for fear.

There are no ghosts—holy or otherwise.

Stop making yourself miserable for "the love of God."

* * *

Be brave enough to live and be brave enough to die, knowing that when the Grim Reaper comes, you did the best you could and that the world is better for your having lived.

A God could do no more.

I will stand between you and the hosts of heaven.

I am not afraid.

I will act as your attorney before the Bar of Judgment.

I will assume all responsibility.

Put the blame on me.

Break the chains of mental slavery to religious superstition.

Arise and become a free and independent human being.

Dignify yourself as a Man, and justify your living by being a Brother to All Mankind and a Citizen of the Universe.

(A few paragraphs taken from this 64-page book.)

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